1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

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The Katab call the			Kagoro	" Agwot ".
"	"	"	Morwa	" Aholia ".
"	"	"	Jaba	" Ada ".
"	"	"	Chawe	" Atsomia ".
"	"	"	Ganawuri	" Etien ".
"	"	"	Aregwe	" Idafan ".
"	"	"	Berom	" Aku:t ".
"	"	"	Piti	" Epit ".
"	"	"	Hausa	" Akwat ".
"	"	"	Fulani	" Fatta ".

105 *Culture Complex.*—It has been said that the tribes mentioned display a remarkable cultural uniformity, the more conspicuous traits of which may be summarized as follows: (1) the use of a common language of classifying type by five of the tribes (viz. Katab, Morwa, Ataka, Kachichere, and Kagoro); (2) the peculiar type of dwelling, oblong at the base, with a pinnacled overhanging roof[1]; (3) the mushroom-shaped lumbar adornment worn by the women,[2] the use of lip discs and of a similar pattern of tribal marks; (4) exogamy in some shape or form; (5) the practice of wife-stealing or sub-marriages; (6) the practice of marriage with the grandfather's widow; (7) inheritance of father's widows,[3] and (8) head-hunting. These are the main points of contact; but it will be seen later, when we come to study the social system in detail, that there are also striking divergences, and that as regards the Ikulu we have to do with a tribe which belongs to a totally different ethnic group and has only in recent times come to adopt some of the characteristic features enumerated above.

The Katab

Social Organization

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[181] *The Clans.*—Socially, the Katab, who number about 11,000, consist of four patrilineal groups or clans, viz. (1) Minyam (pop. 3,600), (2) Agbat (pop. 6,100), (3) Shokwa (pop. 200), (4) Aku (pop. 960). Each clan is exogamous, that is to say that intermarriage between members of the same clan is not permitted. The clan members believe themselves to be related by descent from a common ancestor, but in some instances whole groups

[1] See sketch on p. 52.
[2] The Ikulu excepted.
[3] The Kagoma excepted.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Ikulu

361 known whether the Village-areas themselves are compact territorial units, or whether the component hamlets of the three areas named are, perhaps, interspersed. It may be that each of the four " wife-stealing " units is to be found exclusively in a single Village-area, and the fact that there is one more " wife-stealing " unit than there are Village-areas does not preclude this possibility (cf. Agbat Kokwak and Shokwa, among Katab).

621 The apparent breakdown of the Aswen sub-clan, Katab tribe, into two equal political units (Village-areas) has been mentioned already. One of these, called Taligan[50] by Administration, may represent the emergence of a self-conscious Ikulu community in the Katab tribal area, though it seems more likely that it is simply a new Minyam sub-clan, and that " Ikulu " of Katab are " more Katab " than ever.

Traditions of Origin: Affiliations: Cultural Details

173 Nothing is reported directly concerning indigenous traditions of origin. The earliest speculation on the subject appears to be summarized by Temple, that Ikulu (as also Kamantam; see below) are " off-sets " of Kadara. Meek quotes the Kadara chief of Ankuwa (Kachia District) to the effect that Kadara, Ikulu, Kaje, and Srubu " are of the same stock " (Ikulu were actually counted as Kaje in the Census of 1931); one report states that there are ties (nature not specified) between the Kadara village of Agunu (Kachia District) and Ikulu.[51] In any case these tribes have certainly influenced each other as close neighbours, and the Ikulu are said to have introduced mat-weaving—typically a Kadara craft—into the Katab area. A closer linguistic affinity between Ikulu and Kadara may also be implied by Meek's description of Ikulu as " a section of the Kadara tribe."

● 105 Culturally, Meek declares Ikulu to be in all respects a participant in the Katab culture-complex, [52] with the exception that a man does not contract affinal marriage with his father's widows,[53] and that in the case of secondary marriage divorce is possible.

Distinctive cultural traits noted by Meek are as follows: as among Katab, the child is delivered in the father's compound and the mother returns to her parental compound for an undisclosed period after one or two months. A girl's marriage—including the collection of marriage-payments—is arranged by her paternal grandfather or by her father's elder brother. Formerly, marriage was by capture, without the girl's consent, and payments were made afterwards. A common grave is used by members of a family: though contrasting with general Katab practice, common graves are used by both Kadara and Kurama (formerly). The high god is termed *Agwa pan*, which Meek translates " lord of the moon."[54] There is said to be an annual spring festival (concerning which no details are given) and at acha harvest farms and houses are sprinkled with porridge made of the new corn. There appears to be a *dodo* cult among Ikulu identical with the common Katab *obwai*.[55]

Ikulu, like most of their neighbours, were apparently head-hunters.

[50] At Kwiambana Ikulu, in the Chawai tribal area, there appear to be two exogamous units, Ambaro and Taligan, which name is patently the same as that of the Katab Village-area. It is not clear, however, whether the Taligan of Kwiambana brought their name from the Katab Village-area or whether both brought the name independently from Ikulu.

[51] None of the names of villages and units cited above corresponds with names listed by Smith among either Ajure or Adara (Kadara proper) of Kajuru District, to the north, to indicate ties in that direction.

[52] Including even the *oyam*, apparently: Meek notes that Ikulu do not intermarry with northern Kadara of Kajuru (perhaps Ajure is meant) because Kadara women are naked.

[53] Their disposition is not indicated, though senior and junior levirate marriages obtain, as among Katab.

[54] Cf. Kaje, etc., *Agwam*, chief, Kaje *fwan*, moon. Katab and various other members of the group seem to have a high regard for the moon, though the Katab high god appears to be primarily a rain god.

794 342 [55] A. D. Percival, writing in 1932, describes the Ikulu *dodos* and states that " their ritual and their tall houses have . . . been spread by purchase throughout Katab." He is the only

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAMANTAN
KAGORO
KAFANCHAN

TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN: AFFILIATIONS: CULTURAL DETAILS

The only account purporting to represent indigenous traditions of origin is Reynolds'; according to his information, Angan believe themselves to be Kagoro emigrants. Temple, on the other hand, calls the Kamantan tribe an "off-set" of the Kadara. Linguistic evidence seems to support Reynold's contention, nor has Meek alleged any particular connection with Kadara of Ankuwa (Kachia District), where he has done some research.[87] Whether any relationship, linguistic or otherwise, exists between Angan and other of their neighbours, such as Kagoma, Kuturmi or Koro, remains to be demonstrated.

So far as cultural affiliation with members of the Katab Group is concerned, "wife-stealing" is practised, as already noted, as well as affinal marriage, with widows of grandfather, father, and brother. Angan were also head-hunters and use the common Katab tribal markings. Meek's notes are not entirely clear on the subject of the *oyam* or in the matter of the distinctive Katab-type house; in his lists of tribes subscribing to these two traits he fails to name Kamantan but does not explicitly except it from the Katab Group on these counts (as he does Kagoma, on the count of the *oyam*, for example).

The Angan high god is called Shenya—conceivably cognate with Ashila of Kurama, though the hypothesis cannot be proved on the basis of any materials at present available. Meek notes the belief that pythons contain the souls of living men and may not therefore be killed; a python found dead is buried but may not be touched. He also found some indication of special respect for the rock coney (hyrax) at Ashin village—whether among members of both exogamous units, specifically stated to be not related, is not clear.

KAGORO (AGOLOK) AND KAFANCHAN

LOCATION: POPULATION

The great bulk of Kagoro (Hausa corruption of Agolok [*g* with lip-rounding] or Agwolok)[88] inhabit Kagoro Independent District of Zaria Province, administered through a tribal chief, and separate from Zaria Emirate.

Population (N.A. Census, 1948–50)	*Area*, Kagoro District (Census of 1930)	*Density*
12,966	66 square miles	196 per square mile

Of the total population of the District, 10,566 were Kagoro.[89] As regards density, Smith states that over a quarter of the area is a rocky massif and if arable land alone is considered the density is probably more like 300 per square mile.

Outside Kagoro Independent District, there is a sizeable Kagoro population only in Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, Plateau Province, in territory immediately south of Kagoro District.

Population [90]	*Area*, Jema'a District (Census of 1930)	*Density*
19,917	676 square miles	29 per square mile

[87] According to one report, however, Ankuwa claims a Zonkwa origin (Kaje area), and "the dialect differs distinctly" from that of other Kadara (cf. Meek's information on Ankuwa's relation to Kaje and others, cited under Ikulu, above). Ankuwa is said to lie on the cultural boundary between Kadara and Kuturmi, it should be noted.

[88] Meaning uncertain. Rendered Aguro by Morwa, Agwot by Katab.

[89] In 1948–9, the Kagoro tribal figure was given as 9,288; in 1947–8, 8,999; showing a rise in population of approximately 14% and 3% respectively, or an average of 8.5%. The degree of accuracy represented in these figures is questionable.

[90] Total population, all tribes in District: the figure given here, presumably returned by an N.A. Census, was found entered in the Divisional Notes on Procedure, at Kafanchan, date uncertain, but possibly as recent as 1948. On the basis of the number of adult males returned by the N.A. Census of 1947–8 (7,466), and the ratio of adult males to the total population indicated by the Census of 1930 (about 34%), the figure seems quite reasonable for 1948.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Moroa
Ataka
Kaje

Gizagwai, Mahuta, and Manchok:[104] the senior lineage, then, of Ye-Lutsi is that of Gizagwai. The chief is derived from a different clan, localized apparently at Manchok, to which Meek tentatively gives the name Manchok. Meek derives the Ye-Lutsi from Yelwa, in the Chawai tribal area of Zangon Katab District, and the Manchok from Kafanchan. According to Meek, the priest of Gizagwai has a prominent role in the installation of the chief of Moroa, with which a "sacred sword," the property of the chiefly clan, is associated.

Regarding the religious beliefs of Asolio, Meek states: "The cult is primarily animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) [105] the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed.[106] A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits . . . . In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town."[107]

Meek states also: "the Moroa have no tutelary genii, like the Katab."

A fragmentary analysis by Reynolds of Asolio villages in Zangon Katab District reveals that Chori has a fully-fledged hamlet-head (entitled *Makkadas*) whose lineage or clan is Abuwat, while Ungwar Kayya has had no hamlet-head for the past nine years, only a *wakili* [Hausa, care-taker].

In other respects, materially and superficially, at least, Asolio appear to resemble Katab proper.

Little can be said of Ataka. At the time Tremearne wrote, they used, like certain Kagoro communities upon Kagoro Rock, the ordinary round house at least as commonly as the more distinctive Katab-type house, and their women wore a distinctive type of lumbar ornament which they shared only with Kagoro women of Tuku, Jema'a District. There is no indication that these distinctions persist. Ataka were also essentially horsemen like Birom, Sura, and Ron of the Plateau and this distinguished them from other Katab affiliates. Like the Plateau people again, Ataka men commonly wore only the penis-sheath. Ataka women still supply the pots used over a wide area of south-eastern Zaria, a fact which suggests links with certain segments of the wider Birom community again (especially Irigwe and certain Afusare "colonies").

Kaje (Baju)[108]

Location: Population: Nomenclature

Virtually all major centres of Kaje settlement lie within Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, in the extreme south-western corner, from which point they extend in a north-westerly and northerly direction, along the borders of Jaba and Kachia District, thence into the no-man's-land at the heart of the District, where Kamantan, Ikulu, and Kaje settlements are intermingled (see "Social and Political Organization," below). Kaje here number 24,507 (N.A. Census, 1949–50). They are also found in apparently quite recent settlements in Kachia District, where they number 1,204 (N.A. Census, 1948–9). In 1950, Kaje of Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, totalled 925 in three villages (Yamshir 385, Mafiri 165, Maikarfi 375).

The demography of the Kaje tribal area appears to be similar to that of the Katab tribal area: the density of both Kachia and Jema'a Districts (see Kaninkon, p. 81, above, and Jaba, p. 116, below) is considerably less than that accepted for

[104] Cf. Tremearne's Enniluchwe and Reynolds' Nliche.
[105] Cf. Seasons when marriages may be contracted, noted above.
[106] Perhaps "annually," earlier in the same sentence, should read "semi-annually"?
[107] Whether any part or all of this account refers mainly to Gizagwai, or more widely, is not clear.
[108] The following account relies heavily on the research done by J. A. Reynolds, A.D.O., between 26th April and 22nd August, 1950, in Zangon Katab District. His MS. Report has been invaluable in preparing this section.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje
Jaba

According to Reynolds, it is believed that the dead have an underground abode, Yatbin, where they live much as they did on earth enjoying the same status they held in life. Reynolds does not comment on Temple's statement that Kaje believe in reincarnation, nor does he connect totemic beliefs with the belief in life after death.

Missions

Regarding mission activity in Kaje, Reynolds reports that the total membership of Christian congregations in the tribal area may number about 2,000, or rather less than a twelfth of the population: ministers of no less than six sects are present in the area. The influence of the missions is felt well beyond the small circle of converts, however, through the schools which they operate in the area.

Miscellaneous

Kaje economy and land-tenure appear to conform most closely to their Jaba neighbours (described farther below). Kaje are described as particularly commercial-minded, and aggressive in their business dealings, which appears rather to distinguish them from other members of the Katab Group of tribes.

In material culture, including house-building and dress, Kaje are virtually indistinguishable from their neighbours of the Katab Group all around. As regards music, however, both instrumental and vocal, and the dance, they early made an impression on European observers, and appear still to distinguish themselves in these arts.

JABA (HAM) OF KWOI AND KACHIA

LOCATION: POPULATION: NOMENCLATURE: TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

South-west of the Kaje tribal area of Zangon Katab District, Zaria Emirate, lies the Jaba Independent District of Zaria Province, where the boundaries of Zaria, Plateau (Kagoma-Yeskwa District of Jema'a Emirate-Division), and Benue (Yeskwa District of Keffi Emirate, Nasarawa Division) Provinces meet. West of Jaba District lies Kagarko District, along the Benue and Niger Provinces border of Zaria; north of Jaba and Kagarko, and west of Zangon Katab is Kachia (Kachiya) District, like Kagarko and Zangon Katab, a District of Zaria Emirate. The whole area is one of considerable " tribal " intermixture. The bulk of the Jaba (Hausa? name: Ham or Hum, in the vernacular) are located in Jaba District, with headquarters at Kwoi (whence the name popularly but unofficially applied to the District).

Population (N.A. Census 1948–9) 16,364; area (Census of 1933) 207 square miles; density 79 per square mile. " Tribal " figures for the District are as follows: Jaba, 14,245; Lungu (Adong), 1,513; Kagoma, 484; Hausa, 122. Some early writers equate Lungu with Yeskwa of Benue and Plateau Provinces, but one investigator calls them " practically a clan of the Koro " of Kagarko, though stressing the many ties linking the two peoples. Kagoma are Katab affiliates and are treated farther below.

A second major concentration of Jaba is found in that portion of Kachia District immediately adjacent to Jaba District, south-east of Kachia Town: population (of entire District) 25,494; area 1,394 square miles; density 19 per square mile. Tribal figures: Jaba, 10,683; Kadara, 7,411; Kuturmi, 2,944; Hausa, 2,985; Kaje, 1,204; others, 271. Traditionally, dating back to Kajuru times, Kachia is a Kadara District, Kuturmi being affiliated with Kadara.

Other Jaba are found in Kagarko District (410 of a total of 26,104), traditionally a Koro-Gbari area, but with an " old " Hausa population, and a sizeable concentration of Fulani; here Jaba appear to be assimilating to Koro pagans. Jaba are also found in Yeskwa District of Keffi Emirate, Benue Province (560 of 12,399); in Keffi District (62 of 21,382); in Kagoma-Yeskwa District of Jema'a Emirate Division, Plateau Province (a possible 382 of 6,915), in 1938–9.

The total for Jaba of Zaria Province in 1948–9 is 25,356; the total for the three Provinces concerned is therefore *c.* 26,500.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAGOMA

Linguistically, Kagoma are impossible to classify with any certainty: the view has been expressed that they are connected, perhaps distantly, with Katab, but it appears that only a few words are available for comparison. On the basis of these it is perhaps far-fetched to suggest that Kagoma language may be more closely related to the Jaba than to the more typical languages of the Katab Group, such as Kaje or Katab, but such a conclusion would not be unexepected, in view of the proximity of the two peoples.

Social Organization

Kagoma are said to have capitulated early to the Fulani, though they appear to have revolted frequently against Moslem exactions, perhaps because of their very poverty and the rugged character of their environment. Villages were commonly perched upon the inselberg formations which characterize the area, and so were relatively easy to defend, but at the same time easy to besiege and difficult to flee from when their defences were pierced, so that the Fulani were able from time to time to decimate the population of the area.

In times of peace the individual villages dealt directly with the Moslem District head; under Administration this relationship has been preserved in its essentials. Kagoma have, nevertheless, been administered in various ways, originally as a separate District, but since 1916 first as a joint District with a large section of the Kaje now in Zaria Province, to which Yeskwa were subsequently attached and, finally, since the transfer of Kaje north of Kafanchan to Zangon Katab District of Zaria in 1934, with Yeskwa alone.

Very little is known of the organization of Kagoma, apart from the facts set down by Mathews that each village has both a chief (*kpob*) and a priest (*gbuboga*). According to Mathews, the village head is said to be an indigenous institution, selected from the collateral lines of one particular family by a general meeting of elders (*bukwana*) and adults, including those from hamlets which have sprung from the parent village concerned. The man chosen will not necessarily be an old man, but he should have reached man's estate and be able to "acquit himself properly." In former times he could relinquish office with the consent of the elders when he felt that he was getting past his work. "The priest has a different status and is undoubtedly an earlier conception. He chooses his own successor (a younger brother or son), but this is his own business and not that of the elders though they could probably bring the force of public opinion to bear. The idea of a chief and priest as separate entities is now ingrained; even now the priest has much more real power than the chief, who will act only on the advice of the council of elders."

Main Cultural Features

Ames, writing of Kagoma cultural affiliations, for the most part merely summarizes Temple's earlier account, stating that "their birth, marriage and burial customs are similar to those of the Kaje-Jaba-Katab Group of tribes," more particularly the Jaba, it would appear.[129] Their "dodo" cult, which Ames tends to accept as a relatively recent innovation, bears a distinct resemblance to the Kaje *obwai*. In their house-building, and also their tribal marking, Kagoma conform to general Katab norms: just as the tribal marks seem to have spread over the entire region from a Katab or Kaje centre, Tremearne was of the opinion that the distinctive Katab house-type must have originated in Kaje or Kagoma, for here he found it universally used, in contrast with, say, practice in Kagoro and Moroa Districts.

The most notable known difference between Kagoma and typical tribes of the Katab Group lies in the fact that Kagoma women do not wear the *oyam* in any form (unless they have adopted it in recent years); neither do they wear leaves. Temple describes their attire as a "loincloth," and Tremearne as "a little strip of cloth."

[129] Another feature mentioned by Ames brings to mind Jaba: "They venerate a Supreme God who is connected with the sun."

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Identification

The Katab, with whom are included the culturally and linguistically kindred Ataka (Attaka), Ikulu (Ikolu), Jaba (Ham), Kachichere, Kagoma, Kagoro, Kaje (Baju, Kache, Kajji), Kamantan, Kaninkon (Tum), Lungu (Adong), and Morwa (Asolio, Moroa), belong to the Central or "Semi-Bantu" branch of the Niger-Congo linguistic stock. They are largely pagan, though Islam has been spreading among the Kaje. Population data are as follow: Ataka 4,000 in 1911; Ikulu 6,000 in 1949; Jaba 26,500 in 1949; Kachichere 500 in 1921; Kagoma 7,000 in 1949; Kagoro 20,000 in 1949; Kaje 24,500 in 1949; Kamantan 3,600 in 1949; Kaninkon 2,300 in 1934; Katab 18,000 in 1949; Lungu 1,500 in 1949; Morwa 5,900 in 1921 (9,000 in 1949, including Ataka).

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with hoe cultivation, use of ashes and manure of goats and chickens as fertilizer, fallowing, and some crop rotation. The staple crops are "acha" (Digitaria exilis) and "dauro" (Pennisetum spicatum), but sorghum, maize, yams, taro, sweet potatoes, peanuts, and Digitaria iburua are also important, and lesser crops include beans (of two kinds), manioc, squash, sesame, eleusine, rizga (Plectanthrus floribundus), okra, tomatoes, onions, peppers, ginger, ambary (Hibiscus cannabinus), roselle, Coleus dysentericus, and tobacco, but not rice or cotton.

There is some hunting, fishing, and petty trade, and considerable gathering of wild fruits and nuts. Cattle are not kept, though occasionally taken in raids. Domestic animals include horses (a few among the Kaje, more among the Ataka and Morwa), sheep, goats, dogs (eaten by the Ataka), and chickens.

Sex Division of Labor

Both sexes engage in agricultural work, but men do more than women. Livestock are owned by women and tended by children. Women engage in petty trade.

Property

Cowries were formerly used as currency. An individual obtains heritable usufruct rights in land (without power of sale) by bringing it under cultivation.

Inheritance is patrilineal--by sons in equal shares, then brothers, then nephews. Among the Morwa the ElSo's share is larger. A SiSo shares in an estate only if he lives with his MoBr.

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Social Stratification

Slavery is reported--war captives and debt slaves.

Marriage

Infant betrothal prevails among the Kagoma and Kaje. A primary marriage with an unmarried girl involves a small or token bride-price (e.g., a hoe, bag of cowries, and a few chickens among the Kagoma, a hoe and 6 goats among the Jaba, 20,000 cowries among the Katab, two hoes and a bag of cowries among the Kaje), sometimes also bride-service (e.g., Kaje but not Kagoma), and usually a rite of mock capture. Genuine capture with subsequent compensation also occurred formerly among the Katab. Exchange marriages do not occur. The Kachichere require payments to the wife's family on the birth of any child. Among the Katab, Kaje, and Morwa, such a payment is made only for the second child, who remains with maternal grandparents if it is not made.

Elopements with married women are a distinctive cultural feature of this group of tribes. The social organization prevents such elopements with the women of groups from which unmarried girls may be espoused. When a wife is stolen, the new husband must compensate her parents but not her previous husband, to whom she can always return.

Polygyny is general and exclusively non-sororal. The first wife is chief wife, but each co-wife has her own hut. Among the Katab, the husband rotates, spending two nights with each wife in turn. The sororate is forbidden, but the levirate occurs in both the junior and senior forms. Marriage is also generally allowed with FaWi and (at least among the Kaje) FaBrWi. Most tribes also permit secondary unions with FaFaWi, but the Morwa do not.

Family

The normal residential unit is a patrilocal extended family (with slight avunculocal modifications), consisting of a man and his married sons with their families. Succession to the headship is by seniority.

Residence

Residence is primarily patrilocal. A Katab bride lives for the first year of her marriage in the hut of her HuMo, thereafter in a new hut near that of HuFa. Among the Kaje, and especially the Katab, there are occasional instances of avunculocal residence. Katab boys at the age of five remove from the hut of their mother to a separate hut.

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Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local exogamy is the rule, prevailing for both primary marriages and elopements with married women among at least the Kagoro, Kaje, Katab, and Morwa.

Marriage is forbidden with any first cousin, and inferentially also with remoter ones. Within the mother's patri-lineage, incest taboos are extended to third cousins.

All Tribes of the group have exogamous patri-lineages, and in all except the Kachichere they are localized in wards within the village. Except among the Kachichere, lineages are grouped into larger exogamous units or sibs, which are normally coextensive with the consanguineal core of a village; this is done, not primarily on the basis of traditional common descent but for purposes of wife-stealing. Among the Kagoro, Katab, and formerly also the Jaba, the lineages of each sib are divided into sub-sibs, nearly always two in number. Primary marriages are confined to women of one particular sub-sib in other villages, elopements to the wives of the men of the other sub-sib of the same villages. Among the Kaje, however, villages are grouped into districts, and primary marriages occur with women of other villages of the same district, elopements only with the wives of men of other districts. The Morwa have both sub-sibs and districts; primary marriages occur only with women of a particular sub-sib in other villages or districts, elopements only with women of the other sub-sib of villages in other districts.

Probable evidences of former matrilineal descent include the occurrence of avunculocal residence as an alternative, the property privilege which a Katab SiSo enjoys against his MoBr, the former right of a MoBr in some tribes (not including the Katab) to sell or pawn his SiSo, the duty of a SiSo to give the head of a slain enemy or game animal to his MoBr, and the requirement of a ransom payment to the mother's family on the birth of a second (among the Kachichere every) child.

Kinship Terminology (Katab, except J for Jaba, K for Kaje, M for Morwa)

Fa--atio, ke (J), ati (K), atio (M). Mo--ayang, inyo (J), na (K), ayang (M). Ch--ngwan, shevye (J), kawon (K), ungwon (M). ElBr, ElSi--nhwop, neokwon (K). YoBr, YoSi--shisho. Hu--atuok, sukhak (J), afin (K), ayin (M). Wi--aviyuk, sizung (J), afi (K), abiyuk (M).

FaBr called Fa. FaSi and MoSi called Mo. MoBr--angat. SiSo (ms)--kanio. GrFa--atio-hwop, atiokwop (K). GrMo--ayang-ohwop, nakwop (K), GrCh--kambwon (K the same).

Sibling terms are extended to all cousins.

Settlement Pattern

There are compact villages, usually in the hills, ranging in population from c. 50 to c. 1,500 with 300 as the median. Those of the Kaje, expecially, are defended by hedges of 12-foot euphorbia around both the village and its component compounds. Though the Atakapa have a few ordinary cone-cylinder dwellings, and some Jaba have dome-shaped dwellings of mud, the typical house type for the entire group of tribes is a hut of oval ground plan, with mud walls 3-4 feet high, and a thatched roof rising to a peak in the rear and sloping steeply toward the sides but gradually toward the front (over the door). Ames says the roof is of mud and may or may not have a covering of thatch.

Community Organization

Each village is typically a patrilocal clan-community and its component wards are patrilocal clan-barrios. Males are circumcised, and there are initiation ceremonies for boys (usually distinct from circumcision).

Local Government

Each village and each ward has a hereditary headman, with succession by seniority. There is also a council of elders, at least among the Kaje. The hereditary head of a secret society exercises chief authority in a Kagoma village.

State

Tribal paramount chiefs have existed only since about 1790. The Kaura and Morwa, who remained independent of the Fulani until the arrival of the British in 1912, still have such chiefs, but the Kagoma, Kaje, and Katab, who submitted to the Fulani, are administered by district chiefs under Fulani rulers.

Warfare

All tribes of the group are headhunters, but none are cannibals. The Kaje warred frequently with the Jaba and Kagoro, and the Morwa fought the Aten. All groups were subject to Fulani attacks and slave raids from the early 19th century on.

● 105

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Identification

The Kagoro (Agolik) are a tribe of the Katab cluster belonging to the Central or Bantoid branch of the Niger-Congo linguistic stock. Smith gives their population in 1950 as 10,500 on 67 square miles, Gunn as 20,000 in 1949, Meek as 9,600 in 1931.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural with hoe cultivation but no irrigation. The chief crops are bulrush millet (Pennisetum spicatum), fonio or "acha" (Digitaria exilis), taro, and sorghum, plus two recent introductions, namely, maize and eleusine. Also grown are cow peas, jijok and black beans, peanuts, yams, manioc, bananas, earth peas, sesame, rice (recent), sweet potatoes, sugarcane, and cotton.

Horses (a few) goats, sheep, pigs (recent) dogs (eaten), bees, and chickens are kept, but no cattle. Hunting of large game animals was once important, and there is some gathering and a little fishing. Trade is largely conducted by Hausa.

Sex Division of Labor

Men alone hunt, fish, and tend bees. Both sexes gather, tend livestock, and engage in agricultural work, but men do more tillage than women.

Property

Cowries were formerly used as currency. Hunting territories are collectively owned by patri-lineages. Individual males (never females) acquire heritable usufruct rights (without power of sale) in tilled land by bringing it under cultivation.

Inheritance is basically patrilineal. A man's property, real and movable, is inherited by his sons, sharing equally, provided they are living with him. A young man living with his MoBr, however, inherits from the latter, forfeiting the right to inherit from his Fa.

Social Stratification

Both slavery and debt slavery exist. However, a captive not sold into slavery is treated as a member of his captor's sib.

Marriage

Primary and secondary marriages are sharply distinguished, and are permitted only with women of different sibs. A primary marriage

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involves infant betrothal followed by a series of prescribed gifts (bracelet, hoe, grain, goats, beer, etc.) but without required bride-service. Sibling linkage prevails for marriage payments; the brother who receives those for his sister becomes her atiengya. He receives redemption payments of hoes and goats for the first two of every three children she bears, and has exclusive authority to arrange her secondary marriages. Premarital sex relations are rare. A secondary marriage is always to a married (never a single) woman, and it involves courtship, the consent of her linged Br (or Fa), and the usual marriage gifts. The woman goes to live with her new husband, but is not divorced from her former one, whom she frequently visits (with the new husband's consent) for a brief resumption of her marital role. A second type of secondary marriage is the forcible (and apparently often connived) abduction of a married woman from another community, subsequently ratified by the usual marriage payments.

Polygyny is general, and apparently exclusively non-sororal. A survey revealed 17% of adult males to be unmarried, 50% to be monogamous, and 33% to be polygynous. Each co-wife has a separate hut, and cooks for and sleeps with the husband in regular one-day rotation. Both the junior and senior levirate is in force, and marriage is common with FaWi and permitted with FaFaWi.

Family

The residential unit is a small patrilocal extended family, consisting of a man, his married sons, and their families. The sons normally separate and set up independent families after the death of the Fa and the division of his estate.

Residence

Residence is normally patrilocal. However, sons often follow their mother to the home of the secondary husband of the latter, and it is a common alternative for a man to go to live with his MoBr or MoFa in avunculocal residence, working for him and inheriting from him on a parity with his own sons. Avunculocal residence also results from non-payment of the required postmarital gifts, in which case children are raised in their mother's lineage.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Strict local exogamy prevails. Other communities are divided into two groups--those from whom primary but not secondary wives may be taken, and those from whom secondary but not primary wives may be taken.

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Cousin marriages are forbidden.

Descent is patrilineal. There are localized patri-lineages (kwai), which are exogamous in regard to sex as well as marriage, and most of which have eponymous ancestors. Lineages are grouped into two patri-moieties--one, descended from immigrant lineages, which is exogamous, and the other, consisting of native lineages, which is agamous. The lineages are divided into sub-lineages (tura) and minimal lineages (ufam) and are grouped into sibs (bin). Sibs which practice primary marriage are called niendi, and those practicing only secondary marriage are called nendwang.

Kinship Terminology (from Smith; M for Meek)

Fa, FaBr--acio, atio (M). Mo, MoSi, FaSi--ayang. So, Da--ungwan, bangwon (M). Hu--atuok. Wi--ebiuk, abiyuk (M). Br (ms), Si (ws)--nenyuk. Br (ws)--asam. Si(ms)--anap.

MoBr--angat. SiCh (ms)--unio. FaFa--chiewhop.

Sibling terms are extended to all cousins.

Settlement Pattern

The Kagoro live in compact villages at the foot of hills. They are defended by hedges of euphorbia around the entire settlement and each component compound. Though there are occasional huts of the ordinary cone-cylinder type, the prevailing house type is a hut of oval ground plan with mud walls and a roof (usually of mud covered with thatch) which rises to a peak in the rear and slopes steeply toward the sides but gradually toward the front (over the door).

Community Organization

The community is a "village area" consisting of a cluster of settlements. Lineages are localized as clan-barrios. In most village areas, both moieties and several lineages in each are represented. Circumcision is practiced.

Local Government

Each "village area" has a headman, and there is also a council of elders.

State

Chiefship, according to Smith, has developed only since the establishment of British rule in 1905. Meek, however, reports that paramount tribal chiefs have existed since about 1790. The Kagoro formerly paid an annual tribute of two slaves to the Kaje.

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Warfare

The Kagoro were formerly warlike headhunters. They practiced human sacrifice but not cannibalism. They fought the Kaje and Aten but not the Jaba, Katab, or Morwa.

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